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A Mongrel Crowd of Canadians, Kanakas and Indians: The United States National Park Service Public Archaeology Programme and Fort Vancouver's Village

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Fort Vancouver, on the lower Columbia River, contains the remains of the Hudson's Bay Company's western fur trading operations. This article highlights a long-term public archaeology and museum collections programme tied to the Fort Vancouver Village. Public archaeology has developed new understanding and interpretation of the villagers' lives, while correcting public misconceptions regarding the site's history, significance, and location. National Park Service archaeologists have increasingly addressed community engagement and new opportunities to collaborate in preservation. Directed outreach efforts have developed into partnerships that enrich and reinvigorate the park's significance to the visiting public and the communities that surround it or connect to it through their history.

KEYWORDS colonial archaeology, Pacific Northwest, National Park Service, community engagement, partnerships

Introduction

Partnerships in public or community archaeology are not only a means for archaeologists to stretch public dollars to comply with preservation laws: they are also necessary for the public's understanding of heritage resources and the continued stewardship of archaeological sites in protected spaces (e.g. Jameson 1997; Jameson and Baugher 2007; Jeppson 2012; Jeppson and Brauer 2007; Little 2012; Nassaney 2012; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2011). Engaging communities and partners in stewardship of archaeological sites is critical to their long-term

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preservation. This is particularly true for archaeological sites managed by the USA's National Park Service (NPS), state heritage parks, as well as other protected heritage spaces across the globe (e.g. Alberts and Hazen 2010; Shafer 2012). Such protected spaces share similar challenges including budgetary constraints, community open space needs, enhanced recreational opportunities, cultural tourism, heritage commemoration, and urban development (NPCA 2011). I argue that managers of archaeological sites in protected spaces must engage multiple public audiences to demonstrate their sites' worthiness for preservation (Jameson and Baugher 2007). Public archaeology provides an ideal mechanism to forge partnerships while expounding upon the importance of archaeology and preservation to local communities and interested groups.

The basis of my argument is that some archaeological sites are worthy of preservation not only because they contain useful data, but also because they contain the tangible remains of human endeavour, identity, technology, and cultural interaction that, through interpretation and dialogue, are meaningful to communities today. In the US system, these sites are eligible for preservation in place because archaeologists cannot mitigate their values through scientific study alone. They are significant for their association with historical events or people, or even technological or architectural types (Hardesty and Little 2009; King 2008). The American public has a distinctive place in the consumption of archaeological information, one protected by law and based in grassroots efforts to preserve significant historic places. First, the NPS Organic Act, which created the NPS in 1916, states that NPS parks should remain unimpaired, but enjoyed by the public for future generations. Second, the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), the fundamental US historic preservation law, declares that preservation of important sites, including archaeological sites, reflects 'the spirit and direction of the Nation' and gives 'a sense of orientation to the American people.' Soderland (2012) notes that the public orientation of NHPA derives from the NPS Organic Act, while Jameson (1997, 13) suggests that the spirit of NHPA requires US archaeologists to share archaeological information with the public. The creation of protected spaces tied to heritage mixes the grassroots efforts of small groups and communities with larger governmental entities (Soderland 2012).

The challenge facing NPS archaeologists is finding ways for the public to enjoy their archaeological sites. Unlike historical structures, monuments, or landscapes, many NPS sites are buried and hidden from view, and linking tangible objects in museums with archaeological contexts is not necessarily straightforward. However, when archaeologists excavate sites in urban units, they expose these resources to public view. As Potter (1997, 38) notes, the archaeological dig is where archaeological epistemology is displayed 'right out front'. It is a stage for explaining the value of the site and the scientific processes used to study it. It also provides a different mechanism for explaining the tangible and intangible values for which the site was protected (Tranel and Hall 2003). Therefore, the archaeological site is a locus in which public interaction to build community relationships can take place (Little 2007).

Within this locus of interaction I take an unabashedly 'deficit model' approach to public archaeology, focusing on the need to educate the community about the

resource and the perspectives and approaches of archaeology. Merriman (2004, 5–8) presented the deficit model of public archaeology as a straw man to the multiple perspectives model, which 'encourage[s] self-realization, to enrich people's lives and stimulate reflection and creativity'. In Merriman's (2004, 6) words, the deficit model, 'sees the public as needing education in the correct way to appreciate archaeology, and the role of public archaeology as building confidence in the professional work of archaeologists. Public participation is encouraged, of course, but only along lines of approved professional practice.'

I think that taking a deficit approach, however, is necessary in developing communities' understanding of archaeology's role and potential. While developing multiple perspectives is fundamental to public archaeology, partnership efforts evolve through time. Greater community engagement and new opportunities to collaborate in preservation follow from a sustained approach, thereby creating greater symbiosis and increased community feedback.

Fort Vancouver as a case study

My case study is the Village, a component of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site (FOVA), an urban unit of the National Park System in Vancouver, Washington State. FOVA provides a model for managing an urban park through partnerships with a range of public, private, academic, and community-based entities. Archaeology was a fundamental factor in the establishment of the park; today it is the basis for public outreach and education programming. The park's public and community archaeology activities align with trends in the NPS towards greater civic engagement (Little 2007; Tuxill *et al.* 2009), the authorization and development of heritage sites that represent the range of American experiences, and enlargement of heritage discourse (*sensu* Smith and Waterton 2012).

Fort Vancouver history and the village

Fort Vancouver (FV) was the headquarters and supply depot for the British Colonial fur-trading giant the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) in the Pacific Northwest between 1825 and 1860. HBC controlled the fur trade and disbursement of European and Asian manufactured goods to indigenous peoples over present-day Oregon, Washington, Idaho, western Montana, and southern British Columbia (Hussey 1957; Wilson and Langford 2011). Between 1825 and the late 1840s, FV contained the largest colonial population in the region. The fort processed and shipped tens of thousands of fur-bearing animals each year that voyageurs and indigenous people had trapped in the Pacific Northwest.

The fort's population consisted of a polyglot people united by the fur trade (Deur 2012; Kardas 1971; Wilson 2013a, 2014). While most of the gentlemen managers were of Scottish and English descent, the working classes included French Canadians, Métis, Orkney Islanders (and others from the northernmost islands of Scotland), Native Hawaiians, African Americans, and representatives from many tribes including Iroquois, Cree, Chinook, Cowlitz, and Klickitat. Church and other records indicate that many employees married indigenous women. Kardas

(1971) estimates that indigenous women comprised over 30 per cent of the adult population. Some households maintained American Indian slaves into the 1840s, despite the British colonial laws outlawing slavery (Rich 1941, 237–238; Hajda 2005). The Native Hawaiian men, primarily of the commoner class, were brought to the Pacific Northwest as labourers (Wilson 2013a).

The Village was situated to the west of FV (Figure 1) and contained a population between about 600 and 1,000 people at its height (Kardas 1971; Nielsen 2003; Towner 1984). John Kirk Townsend, who visited the site in 1834 and 1835, relayed that the 'huts' of the Village were 'placed in rows, with broad lanes or streets between them, and the whole looks like a very neat and beautiful village' (Townsend 1970). In 1867, General Benjamin Alvord, who arrived as a US Army Major in 1852, testified: 'At some little distance there was also a village of fifty or sixty cabins, occupied by a mongrel crowd of Canadians, Kanakas and Indians' (Alvord 1867, quoted in Nielsen 2003, 40). The people living in the Village were illiterate and left little documentary record of their activities. The US Army dismantled and burned the Village (and Fort) starting at least as early as 1856 to make way for its Quartermaster's Depot.

The Village is a place where archaeologists can reclaim the history of a diverse set of now underrepresented minority groups (Wilson 2014). As with other historical archaeology, there is much capacity to answer questions of identity formation,

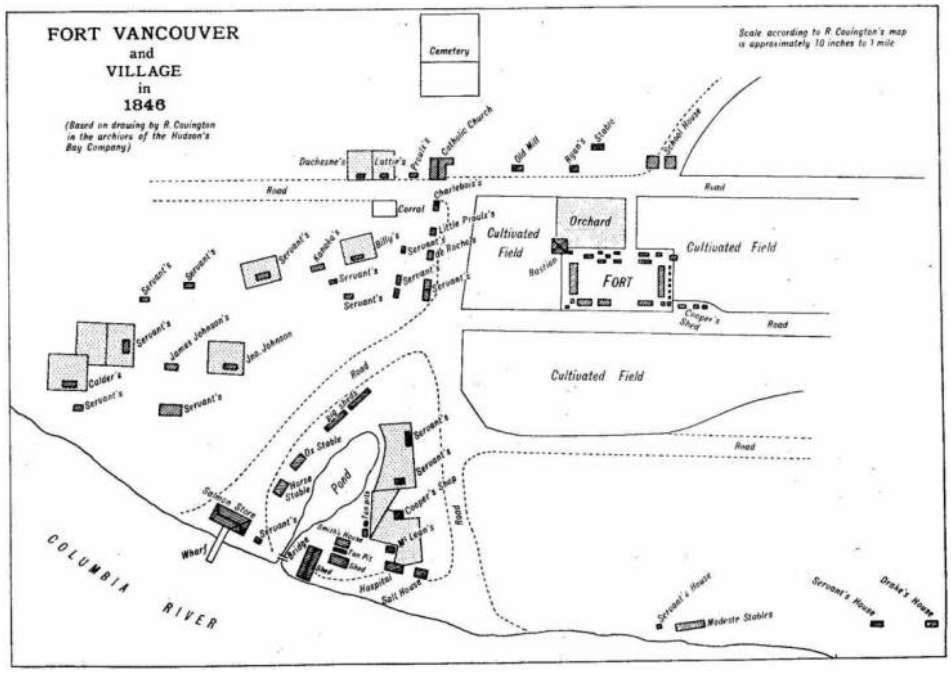

FIGURE 1 Fort Vancouver and the Village based on the Covington map of 1845 (Thomas and Hibbs 1984, Appendix A). The Village is west of the Fort between the Catholic church and the pond. Agricultural fields, orchards and the garden separated the Fort from the Village.
Source: National Park Service

creolisation, and other cultural phenomena at places of colonial culture contact (e.g. Lightfoot 1995, 2006; Martindale 2009; Nassaney 2008; Silliman 2005; Voss 2008). NPS and Department of Interior initiatives to engage diverse youth and urban communities in park activities associated with its centennial provide additional rationale for emphasizing and interpreting the history of the Village (NPS 2011). Diversity in the past and present became a theme for FOVA's public archaeology programme.

Archaeology, interpretation, and the village

Archaeology had a central role in the establishment of FV as a NPS site. The first archaeologist to explore FV was Louis Caywood (Figure 2), who became its first manager. Combined with the work of NPS historian John Hussey (1957), Caywood's archaeology formed the basis for the early interpretation of the site. While Caywood probed the Village (Caywood 1955, 51), the bulk of his work was at the fort stockade (Caywood 1955). Caywood's excavations were of great local interest (e.g. Morrison 1947, 17; Columbian 1948: 1) and Caywood also shared his work in regional and national history journals (Caywood 1948a, 1948b). On the basis of NPS research and enthusiastic local support, the park's authorized boundaries were expanded significantly in 1961, recognizing the wider range of places that comprised FV, including the Village (Merritt 1993, 51–57).

FIGURE 2 Louis Caywood excavating and interpreting to the public at Fort Vancouver. This undated photograph was taken between 1948 and 1955.
Source: National Park Service

The park began to emphasize reconstruction of historic structures over archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s, focusing on the *c.* 1845 stockade and important structures within it (Jameson 2007; Merritt 1993, 41–68). In 1966, NPS reconstructed the north wall of the stockade based on John D. Combes' excavations (Combes 1966). In 1968 to 1969, Edward Larrabee undertook archaeological work on the Village. Some archaeological work during this time, such as that of the Oregon Archaeological Society (OAS), actively involved community members or was publicly accessible. Revisions of the nearby road interchange in the 1970s and 1980s triggered Section 106 of the NHPA, resulting in extensive archaeological excavations that added substantial data on the Village and later US Army use of the area (Carley 1982; Chance 1982; Chance and Chance 1976; Thomas and Hibbs 1984). While the excavations provided a wealth of data and contextual materials, their primary public use was in exposing archaeologists in the region to the resources of the site. In the 1970s and 1980s, the NPS initiated and rapidly expanded living history interpretation. Rangers and volunteers conducted first- and third-person tours and vignettes in period costume from 1845. They developed craft demonstrations in the reconstructions, including a nineteenth-century blacksmith shop, and new costumed special events, like the candlelight tour (Merritt 1993, 174–183).

Perhaps because of the dearth of public archaeology, misconceptions and misinformation abounded. Many visitors believed that the reconstructions represented the original fabric of the site. For example, NPS reconstructed the Chief Factor's house in 1976 to coincide with the USA's Bicentennial. Many visitors thought that the well-furnished rooms and historically-accurate post-on-sill reconstruction was the 1838 structure, not making the connection that the NPS had conducted archaeological research on the original foundations. Local competing interests had created misinformation that the archaeological site did not actually rest within the park and that the park was only commemorative. Stories in the Columbian newspaper even suggested that archaeology was an impediment to reconstruction and development of the park as a 'Williamsburg of the West' (Nee 1995, A1). Disputes over Pearson Field, a former US Army Air Corps field (Merritt 1993) led much of this campaign. In addition, the City of Vancouver was increasingly interested in historic preservation as an economic driver. A critique in the local newspaper suggested that the NPS at FV was out of touch with the community and that federal-level rules and regulations made it hard to collaborate with other entities, including the City, to develop the park (Oppegaard and Nee 1995, A8). The articles relayed the desire by some in the community for greater investment in the site, including a full build-out of reconstructions within the stockade, and management and marketing models tied to private-sector heritage sites, such as Colonial Williamsburg.

The public archaeology programme

Since 2000, public archaeology at FV has reclaimed cultural resources as central to both the preservation and interpretation of the park while working with living history interpretation to support more authentic experiences. The programme responded to the community and its perception of the park, not community archaeology *per se* (Marshall 2002). Public archaeology at FOVA has redirected public

discourse to the values that were identified in the park's formation, presented new opportunities for exploring these values, and expanded them into more inclusive narratives to build a foundation for community archaeology. The programme's goal was to:

- develop a research centre at the park tied to the site's history and archaeology;
- increase focus within FOVA and its affiliated sites on the interpretation of cultural resources;
- address management needs tied to historical building reconstruction, and
- support broadening the historical landscape around the fort, including the Village.

NPS expanded the Volunteer in Parks (VIP) programme at FOVA to encourage more avocational archaeologists from the OAS and elsewhere to assist in laboratory and excavation work. Volunteers, many of whom had volunteered with OAS on prior digs at the fort, assisted in park-directed projects. In 12 years, volunteers have contributed 148,784 hours to cultural resources projects. In 2014, 80 archaeology and curation volunteers contributed 9,042 hours. After they volunteer, many show up at park events, contribute to social media, and provide dialogue on cultural resources issues. In 2012 and 2013, OAS gave President's Awards to FOVA for providing opportunities for avocational archaeologists.

NPS initiated a public archaeology excavation programme in 2000 inside the Fort at the site of the Jail. As the jail was near the starting point of interpretive fort tours, there was considerable visitor interest in the excavations and archaeologists spent significant amounts of time interpreting the site to the public. Although archaeologist-visitor contacts were not explicitly tracked, the two month summer field season had thousands of such encounters.

NPS formed partnerships with Portland State University (PSU) in 2001 and Washington State University Vancouver (WSUV) in 2003 to run archaeological field schools staffed by graduate students directly supervised by NPS archaeologists. NPS initiated a three-year survey of the Village in 2001, followed by a five-year research programme (2010 to 2014). The purpose was to support university curricula by introducing historical archaeology fieldwork method and theory tied to a research design supporting NPS research and interpretation goals. NPS designed the Village field school projects to help recapture the history of its multicultural workers while engaging the Portland/Vancouver metropolitan area in the site's unique history. NPS exposed remnants of the later US Army fort to address the site's multicomponent nature and to highlight the army's use of the area (Wilson 2013b). Since its inception, 207 students have taken the field school.

NPS committed to a field school because of the high potential for visitors to interact directly with students and staff. By design, students and staff explained archaeologists' work, described the site's nature and finds, and helped dispel inaccuracies regarding the site's location. NPS also could impart skills not normally part of university curricula to students, such as site interpretation.

As part of the school, NPS interpretive rangers trained students to discuss field school activities with visitors, interpreting the site's significance project goals, and serving as a conduit of archaeological information. The basis of the interpretive

model is the National Association of Interpretation's Standards and Practices for Methods (NAI 2009). Reconciling the deficit model needs of the archaeological programme with these standards has created a unique model, that Marks (2011) calls the 'FV Model for Public Engagement.' Instructors encouraged the students to construct and deliver a set of messages on the site and archaeological process from the archaeologist's point of view. These messages filled the archaeological information deficit, but the dialogue created with visitors was constructivist and respected other points of view. Wide flexibility was given to the students to implement the model openly and transparently, providing for evolutionary practice (Marks 2011).

Another element of the public archaeology programme was the creation of a Kids Dig in 2001. These programmes' objectives then and now are to:

- help youth understand differences between history and archaeology and the ways that sources of information support each other;
- teach the ways that archaeology helps understand past peoples;
- show the archaeological processes, including excavating, mapping and recording of information;
- provide a stewardship message, and
- provide a fun, enjoyable and educational experience.

Based loosely on similar programmes, archaeologists and interpreters developed a mock site that mimicked the layers of archaeology at FV. The two-hour Kids Dig introduced youth (8 to 12 years old) to archaeological concepts including excavation, collection, and recording techniques. First, deep curation bins filled with sediment and reproduction artefacts in layers mimicked the stratigraphic layers of the site. Later, NPS cleared a previously-excavated portion of the archaeological site to use for the mock dig. Given the legal framework and the values of preservation associated with NPS parks, youth were educated not to keep the artefacts, nor to practice archaeology without being part of a guided programme by trained archaeologists.

By 2010, the Field School was successfully engaging youth through a variety of programmes, in addition to the Kids Dig. Interpreters and partners ran daytime and overnight summer education camps that interfaced directly with archaeological staff and students at the dig site (Figure 3). NPS ran the programmes in partnership with At Home — At School, Vancouver/Clark County Boys & Girls Club, and Vancouver/Clark Parks & Recreation Department. While NPS and its partners scripted this programme, it followed most of the same principles of the 'FV Model for Public Engagement.' In its first year (2010), the park hosted nine day camps for youth aged 6 to 10, and nine overnight camps for youth aged 11 to 17, exposing over 300 campers to archaeology, 95 per cent of whom had never visited FOVA. NPS hired seven interns from local high schools and colleges to assist in the programmes. Anecdotally, many youth in the programme found the interaction with the archaeology staff and students one of the most exciting and memorable aspects of their experience. The programme's success has led to new partnerships linking youth to the summer field school and its unique model of public engagement, including continuing programmes run by the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry.

FIGURE 3 Youth programme visiting the Fort Vancouver field school in July 2010.
Source: National Park Service

NPS geared some of the youth programming at the Village to suggest that archaeological methods could reclaim the poorly documented, but multicultural voices of history. NPS hypothesized that this would be a powerful means to convey that history and archaeology could address issues of particular interest to minority students and that protection of these sites was of value to them. The programmes were designed to provide urban youth an immersive experience in Pacific Northwest archaeology and history, to promote appreciation of Pacific Northwest heritage, and to explore the diversity of the Village. A supplemental theme was to engage urban populations that had never visited national parks as a way to encourage a new generation of stewards (NPS 2011). The outreach addressed national NPS goals to connect urban youth (especially underrepresented and disadvantaged youth) with national parks, reach out to minority populations, educate youth on protected spaces stewardship (NPS 2011), and, at the park level, to raise youth awareness regarding volunteering at FOVA.

The public archaeology field school also included a lecture series open to students, staff, and the interested public. NPS designed the speaker series to introduce topics in regional and national history and archaeology tied to protected spaces. Since 2001, over 50 speakers have participated, including archaeologists and historians.

The public museum programme and media outreach

On a parallel course, the public museum programme began in 2000 to address the multicultural nature of the fur trade through museum objects (Langford 2001). Museum specialists began collections tours that brought visitors directly into the

curation facility, highlighting historical themes of the site, and eventually tying into field school programming (Figure 4). Starting in 1999, NPS curators placed a high value on making the collections more accessible to researchers and the public. They digitized diagnostic artefacts from the collections and put them online to allow the public and researchers to observe objects collected at or donated to the site (Langford 2001). Museum professionals developed rotating exhibits that highlighted the collections and archaeologists and museum staff developed brochures and publications directly addressing the Village, archaeology, and collections (cf. NPS 2001; Pierson and Huff 2014). The value of these exhibits was increased public access to the cultural resources held by the NPS at FOVA, in order to educate visitors and the community and to provide increased community understanding of the museum collections. It also brings visitors into contact with archaeological resources when excavations are not being conducted. In 2013, FOVA museum staff and archaeologists partnered with the Wing Luke Museum of the Asian Pacific American Experience in Seattle, Washington on an exhibit entitled 'Grit: Asian Pacific Pioneers Across the Northwest.' Artefacts and museum materials from the FOVA museum and field school examined the life of William Kaulehelehe, a Native Hawaiian minister who lived at the Village. FOVA museum staff served as one of the Wing Luke's community-based exhibition developers.

The reconstruction of the Counting House/New Office in 2003 created hands-on exhibits inside the Fort that emphasized the techniques of archaeology and history, with explicit focus on diversity. Some exhibits tied to children who would have lived in the Village. The museum programme continues to gear many of its tours and programmes to archaeology themes. NPS developed a museum collection series to

FIGURE 4 Museum Technician Meagan Huff gives a museum collections tour at Fort Vancouver.
Source: National Park Service

highlight the material culture of the site (beads, nails, and other objects). A teacher education pack entitled 'Teaching the Village with Artifacts' uses museum objects to explore the multicultural nature of the Village (Karlsen *et al. c.* 2010). These FOVA initiatives support strategic national goals for museum management to connect museum objects to history and resources management at NPS sites (NPS 2010; cf. Jeppson and Brauer 2007). At a local level, however, NPS designed them to enhance 'historical thinking' tied to Oregon and Washington's grade level expectations and assessment systems. They also address issues of identity and diversity associated with the Village, goals more closely aligned with social justice and greater outreach to minority populations (e.g. NPS 2011).

The close association of the museum and archaeology programmes at FOVA synergistically filled archaeological (and museum) information deficits while encouraging public dialogue. From these efforts began the NPS park-based Northwest Cultural Resources Institute (NCRI), whose mission is to foster cultural resources stewardship through a variety of fields including archaeology. Associated with the NCRI, a new agreement with PSU created a cooperative research and training programme to conduct research that contributes to the public understanding of Oregon and Washington's historic period (including FOVA and other NPS parks). This expanded partnership develops public understanding of archaeology and history and stimulates scientific research on NPS protected sites and areas. It expands the education of students in historical archaeology and heritage management using FOVA and other NPS protected areas as both subject matter and classroom.

Through the NCRI, the PSU partnership provided educational programmes to orient college students to park resources and hands-on projects (such as field schools) at FOVA and other NPS sites. NPS designed these activities to generate shared cultural resources stewardship, promote greater public and private participation and understanding of historic preservation, and to introduce youth to NPS heritage resources and careers. One of the results of these partnerships is the advancement in academic knowledge of the Village. Cromwell's (2006) doctoral dissertation on the Village was followed by a dissertation on women's roles at FV by Stone (2010); landscape issues (Dorset 2012), ceramics (Holschuh 2013); architectural remains (Mullaley 2011); reuse of glass (Simmons 2014); and tobacco consumption (Wynia 2013). Most of these projects include the analysis of existing museum collections as well as new excavation results.

An important component of the public archaeology programme community outreach was the routine use of press releases. Since 2001, print media has published over forty news stories on the field school partnership and other related NPS archaeology projects, particularly highlighting work at the Village (cf. Associated Press 2002; Vogt 2013). Other media, including newsletters, books, websites, podcasts, and blogs, detail the activities at the park of the archaeologists, museum staff, and other cultural resources professionals. Social media, including Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram announce programmes, and release information on archaeological discoveries and activities. For example, museum specialists post regular material culture articles on Facebook with additional posts highlighting archaeological work in the laboratory and field, easily reaching hundreds of people.

Partnerships with tribes

Consultation with American Indian Tribes and Native Hawaiian groups is required under the NHPA and other US laws. Past archaeological projects in the Village and archival research on the HBC cemetery suggested that the park would need to consult with a large pool of federally-recognized tribes (Deur 2012). Some non-federally-recognized tribes like the Chinook also had a clear interest in the site. In 2001, NPS initiated consultation on the field schools with seven tribes; by 2014 there were 19. The park's willingness to consult with tribes and the relationships that have formed have built greater trust and solved some complex issues tied to American Indian and Native Hawaiian interests at the site. A significant issue surrounded American Indian remains that were identified as culturally unaffiliated human remains under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and had languished in the museum collections, some since the 1950s. An intertribal consortium led by the Cowlitz Tribe and supported by the NPS addressed these in 2009. Kretzler (2015) recently recognized the repatriation as a model for cooperation between NPS and tribes.

Special tours of the Village, the HBC cemetery, and other places for indigenous peoples have increased awareness of the site and its resources. NPS published an ethnohistorical study to identify groups with ties to FV to help guide the engagement of indigenous communities (Deur 2012). NPS distributed this to tribes and other researchers to help facilitate communication regarding tribal interests and the many ways in which tribes are affiliated with the site. In 2014, NPS hosted the first consortium summit to discuss increased tribal presence at the site.

Increased knowledge and cooperation on cultural resources compliance per NHPA and NAGPRA have created a more welcoming environment for tribes. The Cowlitz Tribe and other tribes began landing at the site in 2011 as part of the annual intertribal canoe journey. Since 2011, NPS and the Ke Kukui Foundation, a Native Hawaiian non-profit, have held workshop tours of the Village as part of the foundation's 'Three Days of Aloha Festival' in Vancouver. In 2014, the Chehalis tribe brought its youth to a special Kids Dig and archaeology programme in the Village. This visit engaged the youth in the history and archaeology of the Pacific Northwest, as per other programmes, but in this case the unique connections between the tribe and the site were highlighted. It was featured in the Chehalis Tribal Newsletter (Goertz 2014). Public archaeology field school students have been able to observe and participate in many of these programmes creating a better understanding of indigenous people's connections to the NPS site. These opportunities help fulfil the park's interpretive goals to better understand precontact and colonial heritage of indigenous peoples and their ties to FV, while creating graduates who are knowledgeable about the region's colonial history from both the standpoint of the colonized as well as the colonizers.

Conclusions

At FV, public archaeology partnerships have reclaimed the central role of archaeology and museum collections in the preservation and interpretation of the site. Visitors, students, interpreters, and park managers are better able to understand

concepts of identity, technology, and globalism at FV, while creating a dialogue about heritage. The NPS's ability to partner is essential to its continued success in highlighting the cultural resources that it protects. Partnerships must engage with the diverse communities and youth that will form the stakeholders of NPS during its second century.

Many forces make it difficult to engage with communities tied to heritage sites. Economic development, the identities of diverse groups, and the very real potential for contested views of the past (Jeppson 2012) are roadblocks that make working with communities frustrating, but also rewarding. Filling educational deficits (and misconceptions) regarding protected sites and cultural resources management, while opening the door for dialogue is an important part of FOVA's approach to public archaeology. Policy makers should encourage continued dialog between archaeologists and museum curators and the public. There are many excellent examples of national NPS partnerships (Jameson 2007), and NPS should continue evolving these programmes and providing support to partnerships that engage tribes, students, academic researchers, and the public in finding new relevance in heritage sites.

Through the NCRI, the public archaeology and museum collections programme has resulted in many positive outcomes for the preservation of the site. I no longer hear the question about whether the reconstructed fort is in its 'correct location.' Through consultation, site visits, and better communication with American Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian groups, NPS has created new opportunities to engage these communities. Through participation in archaeology and museum programs, NPS has created new supporters from the community that understand and value archaeological resources. There is an increasing understanding of the wider significance of the Village and prospects for greatly enlarged understanding through active interpretation within the Village and continuing archaeological and museum research.

The public archaeology programme at FV grew out of necessity to explore those aspects of the site that were understudied and to relay the importance of the archaeological site to the public. As the NHPA turns 50 years old and the NPS turns 100, it is more important than ever to emphasize the public reason for the preservation of historic sites, including national parks. I argue that public access to sites and explanations of the significance of archaeological sites are crucial for their preservation. Partnerships are powerful means to reveal, interpret, and protect sites. Through a directed, participatory approach toward civic engagement, community archaeology can emerge to seek new understandings of past lives and events.

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